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Need to Forestall Global Agitators

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By Malvina Lindsay

IN EVERY international crisis there is general recrimination over what somebody—usually of the opposite political party—did or didn't do yesterday. The scheduled "great debate" of this week in the Senate will likely resound with this.

Yet in any foreign aid proposal the part designed to prevent tomorrow's flare-ups—the economic program—has the hardest going. Congressional pruning knives are now turned chiefly on the economic part of the President's aid program.



Miss Lindsay

Loans, grants, technical assistance, other economic measures that may undercut future trouble-making demagogues are always a "giveaway"; guns never. Yet the globe is swarming with rulers who are tempted to look to international adventure to pacify or hold together deprived, restless populations.

If the little Hitlers of tomorrow are to be forestalled, Congress and the public will need to lift their sights to an economic program of wide scope and long-range basis. Former President Truman has proposed an over-all development plan—not a "piece-meal" one, he points out—for the entire Middle East. A long-range development plan for this area also is proposed in the first of a series of studies of foreign aid made for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*.

PAUL G. HOFFMAN is advocating an economic program of grants and loans for the one third of humanity in the underdeveloped areas. Two authorities on international economics, W. W. Rostow and Max F. Millikan of the Center for International Studies at Cambridge, Mass., propose that the Western nations unite in a world development program designed to prevent what clerics call the "occasion for sin"—namely the situation that causes a head of state to seek a villain abroad in order to maintain his hold at home.

A world containing more than a score of new nations, many of them politically unstable and economically depressed, is a breeding ground for international trouble-makers. Of the 800 million people living in underdeveloped areas 750 million live in the 18 nations that have won their independence during or after the last war, points out Mr. Hoffman.

With independence won, many a national leader finds himself without a unifying cause to which to rally his people. President Sukarno of Indonesia is a current example.

Any leader of a new, underdeveloped nation, say Dr. Rostow and Dr. Millikan, faces a decision as to how he will unify the populace and build a modern state. He can use "external symbols"—as making a bogey out of a minority, or arousing fear of a neighbor or great power. Or he can use "internal symbols" as constructive efforts to develop the resources of the country and make it a self-reliant part of world society.

INDIA is an example of an underdeveloped nation that is using the "internal symbols." As a result, its civic leaders and officials on every level are showing enthusiastic zeal to develop the country's resources. Burma now is also turning to interior development. If countries following these methods succeed, they will encourage other countries to follow their example.

It is strongly to the interest of the Western world to aid nations that are trying to develop by internal methods—to practice what Puerto Rico calls its "Operation Bootstrap." The Rostow and Millikan proposal is for a long-term loan fund to be established by Western nations to aid underdeveloped countries that are trying to do this. This aid would be entirely separate from military aid which relates to matters of immediate security.

This country has a special stake in the achievement by new, underdeveloped nations of stable national life because it is to such areas that the United States must look for raw materials, consumer markets, and the strategic support and friendly relations that will help maintain world peace.

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